#202: DECEMBER 16-JANUARY 19 A FREE PAPER FOR FREE PEOPLE

THE INDYPENDENT

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BLACK LIVES MATTER

A NEW MOVEMENT FOR RACIAL JUSTICE BEGINS, P4



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UPGRADING TO INDY 2.0

ve worked on this newspaper for many years. My favorite moment in the month-long cycle of publishing The Indypendent always occurs during the final hours before going to

It's when all the stories, photos and illustrations for the new issue have come in and been laid out in freshly designed pages with headlines and captions and only final page proofs to go. At this point, everyone's individual efforts have taken shape and collectively become something larger and more powerful. The final result then goes out into the world and is read by tens of thousands of people.

That moment seems like magic, but it's a product of hard work. The Indy started as an all-volunteer project in 2000 and has never had more than a couple of modestly paid editors who kept things running smoothly so that everyone else could plug in. This model has allowed us to excel while operating on a shoestring budget.

We worked our butts off again this year providing on-the-ground coverage from Ferguson to the frontlines of the global anti-fracking movement; from tenant union organizers in Crown Heights and storm survivors in the Rockaways to Venezuela, France and Iraq and back home to the People's Climate March.

No other city in the United States has a left

newspaper like the Indy, and keeping it afloat has been no easy task.

As we enter our 15th year, we're continuing to evolve as an organization. Happily, we're now reaching a financial milestone where we can pay all of the core members of our team. Though

long overdue, it's a huge step forward for us. We also plan to make the Indy more welcoming to the many talented freelance writers and artists who would love to contribute to the paper but can't afford to provide their work for free. At the same time, the publication will continue to run a strong volunteer program for aspiring grassroots journalists and be open to submissions from our readers.

This transition is a big challenge but not an impossible one. It will allow us to do more of the incisive social movement reporting and analysis for which we are already known and to publish it more frequently in print and online at indypendent.org. Call the more robust newspaper and website that emerge from this transformation

But first we need to raise \$40,000. It's double our normal fundraising goal and a crucial step in ensuring that our plans for Indy 2.0 succeed. This annual year-end fund drive will be a big part of that. But we aren't stopping there. Sup-

porters will be hosting house parties for us this winter and spring and we will be celebrating our 15th anniversary in a big way next fall.

This is the time to make a contribution. We're already outpacing last year's fund drive, but we don't have a millionaire owner or deep-pocketed corporate investors. So whether you can give \$25, \$100, \$200 or \$1,000, it all makes a big difference. You can write a check or go to indypendent.org and make a one-time or a recurring monthly donation, which is a great way to spread your gift across the year.

"You get what you pay for," the old saying goes. In this case your contribution will get you quite a lot. Besides helping us pay our bills and do right by our writers and artists, you will see an already outstanding newspaper continue to

Thank you for your support. And we'll see you in the streets in 2015.

— John Tarleton

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TAKE THE CHAINS OFF THE MOVEMENT CONTINUES

By Nicholas Powers PHOTOGRAPHS BY ROBERT PLUMA

Te jumped in front of traffic. Car headlights blinded us; we held up our hands and yelled, "I can't breathe." These were the last words of Eric Garner, a 43-year-old Black man who was strangled to death by NYPD officer Daniel Pantaleo on Staten Island. Running between cars, we slapped high-fives with drivers and held signs above our heads.

On December 3, thousands flooded the New York streets after news broke that Pantaleo had not been indicted after murdering Garner. It was the second time in 10 days that a grand jury refused to charge a white cop who killed an unarmed Black man. On November 24 officer Darren Wilson was cleared in the shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri. The two non-indictments, back to back, ignited our sadness into rage; again we saw deadly abuses of power go unpunished.

Even as I write this, somewhere in America a Black man or woman is being beaten or killed by the police. Most die invisibly. For a few, a rough video of their assault or death will surface and their faces will be framed in protest signs. Each new murder swells the movement that compels us to stage mass die-ins in transit hubs and malls, torch stores and block highways. The people are rising against the state, demanding justice it cannot give and the state cannot crush the protests without risking more rebellion.

A great collision is coming, driven by a question that has been asked repeatedly for nearly four centuries. It was asked by 19 Africans, enslaved in the English colony of Jamestown in 1619, and is being asked again by the protesters across the nation. Can Black life be valued in America?

WHY FERGUSON MATTERS

"Let me see your driver's license," the cop told me. I handed it over; he swiped it and then handcuffed me. In 2011, a warrant was issued for my arrest because I did not pay a fine for drinking beer in a park.

I spent the night in jail. More men came in, sullen and hardfaced, arrested like me for an outstanding warrant on a minor violation. Staring at the walls, we cursed the police. I knew the mounting anger in that cell was present around the country.

REVOLUTION BY DESIGN

Go to a protest in New York City these days and you're likely to see people holding hand-mounted 11" x 17" placards whose slogans appear in uniformly-sized white letters on a pitch black background.

The placards express a multiplicity of messages — "Unarmed Civilian," "Be Human," "The Whole Damn System Is Guilty As Hell," "Stop Killing Our

Friends," to name a few – which manage to distill the varying sentiments of the protest moment with a sparse, zen-like clarity that invites further reflection.

"We leave room for people to fill in the blanks. The signs get into people's hearts and minds," says Laurie Arbeiter, a founder of We Will Not Be Silent, an artist/activist collective that supplies the protest placards.

Arbeiter, 56, grew up learning about the Holocaust from her workingclass Greek Jewish family in Queens, where the imperative of speaking out against racism and op-

In the United States there are nearly 1 million law enforcement officers stacked like a giant pyramid of power at the federal, state, county and city levels who are charged with keeping order in a nation of 316 million citizens. They glide through neighborhoods in patrol cars. They stand on street corners in pairs, badges flashing. They watch us.

But the crime they see is a warped vision of the crime that exists. In the eyes of U.S. police, criminality is visible if contrasted against brown skin. While patrolling highways and streets, they miss vast amounts of ongoing crime committed by whites and especially, wealthy whites. Let the suspect be Black and they will be stopped and frisked, their car inspected, their papers run through the system. The NAACP Criminal Justice Fact Sheet states that white people use illegal drugs five times more often than Black people even though Blacks are jailed at 10 times the rate.

The police crisscross Black, Latino, poor and immigrant neighborhoods and come down hardest on those that are most vulnerable. In Gotham alone, during the 12 years of Mayor Michael Bloomberg's tenure, the New York Civil Liberties Union reported that the New York Police Department (NYPD) conducted nearly 5 million stops and frisks. A quarter of them involved young Black men, who comprise less than 2 percent of the city's population.

The goal remains the same under liberal Mayor Bill de Blasio as it was under Bloomberg. It was best summed up by Bloomberg's top cop Ray Kelly, who said to state Senator Eric Adams that he wanted to "instill fear in them [Black youth] that every time that they left their homes they could be targeted by po-

The police don't just want to watch us; they want us to know it and to internalize it and watch ourselves, afraid that the smallest misdemeanor can begin an unstoppable descent toward prison. After I was arrested, my time came for court. The officers took me out of the cell and drove me to the judge. As we talked, I asked them about this mass arrest policy.

> pression was impressed upon her from an early age. Coming out as a lesbian would later deepen her sense of the danger posed by intolerance. An artist by training, she put down her paintbrush in 2004 to fully dedicate herself to antiwar activism and opposing the Bush administration's abuse of civil liberties under the guise of the War on Terror.

> She hit on the white on black color combination because it stands out and can be seen even at a distance. She first tried it out in 2006 with a T-shirt that read "We Will Not Be Silent" in English and Arabic. The words were taken from the motto of the White Rose, the only group inside Nazi Germany to openly call for resistance to the Third Reich. The T-shirt went viral after a story broke that authorities at JFK Airport barred an Arab-American activist from getting on a plane while wearing the shirt.

> "Wearing a message on your body is a powerful way of expressing yourself." Arbeiter savs.

> Arbeiter and her collaborator Sarah Wellington have since moved more than 70,000 prints of the "We Will Not Be Silent" T-shirt. They now offer shirts with about 50 different slogans to choose from while also continuing to churn out their distinctive signs for people to pick up and use at protests.

> The most popular shirt of late has been "Unarmed Civilian." Arbeiter and Wellington crowdfunded money to print more than 700 "Unarmed Civilian" signs, which they shared with the residents of Ferguson, Missouri, during a visit this fall. They also produced hundreds of signs that were widely seen in press reports from the protests in Ferguson that followed a grand jury decision not to indict police officer Darren Wilson.

> "We were embraced with such feelings of love," Arbeiter recalls, "We were giving them the language they were speaking but made concrete."

> > — JOHN TARLETON



IN THE SPOTLIGHT: NYPD cops man a police barricade during the second night of protests over a Staten Island grand jury's refusal to indict the police officer who killed Eric Garner.

"We call it the snowball effect," one of them said. "You know, it just begins small like a ticket and then another citation, some jail time and next thing you know...boom!" I slumped back in the seat, dizzy with anger and blurted, "If you have a name for how bad it is why don't you stop it!"

"Policy," he said and looked away. "Policy."

And every time a cop stops and frisks us, harasses us for sleeping on the train, writes a ticket, embarrasses us in public — it traumatizes the body, fills it with combustible pain. It's hard to understand if you don't experience it. Remember Eric Garner telling the police officers, "Please just leave me alone"? Did you know he brought a civil suit against the NYPD for doing a cavity search for drugs in 2007, right in broad daylight

as people walked by? Nothing was found. He wrote of the "injuries to his manhood" caused by the officer searching his rectum and genitals for "his own personal plea-

Ferguson matters because every city in America has a Ferguson inside it. A people enraged at the handprints left by police on their bodies, losing money to tickets, losing jobs to jail time, burying the dead and then being blamed for it. The flames in that small town can spread across the nation. Malcolm X once joked that during slavery, when the master's house caught fire, field slaves prayed for wind. Many of us are pray-

THE FEEDBACK LOOP OF VIOLENCE

"Black on black crime is the reason for the heavy police presence in the black community," former New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani said on Meet the Press in November. "White police officers wouldn't be there if you weren't killing each other."

Conservatives say the high Black crime rate is the real danger, not rogue white cops. The danger is gangsta rap or single mothers or dumb hood drama. Biological racism in which one race is better than others has been replaced with cultural racism in which one culture is better than another. Con-

THE INDYPENDENT Dece

Laurie Arbeiter





OUTRAGE : Crowds pour into Times Square on the night of the Eric Garner grand jury verdict.

servatives believe in hierarchy, an order that keeps everyone in their proper place. Black culture is the low point in that hierarchy; it is a cauldron of icky morals, drowning everyone in it or close by.

Jason Riley, a Black writer at the Wall Street Journal who wrote Please Stop Helping Us, followed this tradition in his article "The Other Ferguson Tragedy." He wrote, "Homicide is the leading cause of death among young black men, who are 10 times more likely than their white counterparts to be murdered. And while you'd never know it watching MSNBC, the police are not to blame."

The Black homicide rate is part of a feed-back loop of oppression. It's the effect of multiple forces, but is framed by conservatives as a cause. The first of these forces is poverty. The Bureau of Labor Statistics' August jobs report said the Black unemployment rate is at 11 percent, compared to the 5.3 percent rate for whites. During the four decades the bureau has kept records on it, Black unemployment has always been higher, a sign that we're dealing with intergenerational poverty. Nearly 30

percent of Black people are poor. If you do the math, it's nearly 13 million people out of 42 million.

The image of urban ghettos that resemble warzones is a staple in the public imagination. What the protests in Ferguson show is that segregation followed people of color into the suburbs. Brown University sociologist John Logan described in a recent report, "Separate and Unequal in Suburbia," the movement of people of color from cities into the older inner rings of suburbs, and the poverty many of them live with. It is often reflected in failing schools that are underfunded, understaffed and have low graduation rates.

And then there's geography. Much of urban crime is public. Poor families are packed into small apartments and that density "squeezes" crime out into public space. Beefs start in the street. Drug dealing and addiction are in the street. The fight for turf is in the street. All of which makes it visible and easier to police.

Much of suburban crime, on the other

Continued on next page



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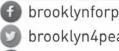
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DIE-IN: Protesters hold a die-in in the middle of Grand Central Terminal to commemorate the death of Eric Garner.

Continued from previous page

hand, is private. Drug use, sexual assault and violence happen inside homes, where the police don't often go. Waves of crime roll through the suburbs but go unreported, giving white America a false veneer of safety and innocence. That veneer is being blown apart by the hashtag #crimingwhilewhite, where whites describe their crimes and the soft treatment they've received from police.

Suburban neighborhoods of color, however, don't get this "benign neglect." As the crisis in Ferguson blew up, the New York Times editorialized, "The police in St. Louis County's many municipalities systematically target poor and minority citizens for street and traffic stops — partly to generate fines — which has the effect of both bankrupting and criminalizing whole communities."

Police are overpolicing poor neighborhoods of color. Decades ago, Black and Latino neighborhoods were neglected, something rapper Flavor Flav of Public Enemy made fun of in his song "911 is a Joke": "Now I dialed 911 a long time ago. Don't you see how late they're reactin'. They only come and they come when they wanna."

The switch to overpolicing accompanied the rise of the "broken windows" theory, which compels law enforcement to target low-level crimes. As the logic goes, going after low-level offenders will prevent larger crimes. Nice in theory, but in practice it creates the "snowball" effect. Danette Chavis of National Action Against Police Brutality said, "Blacks and Hispanics are arrested on the accusation of a crime. They keep them in jail and tell them... if you plead the lesser charge we'll let you go. But that's the trick...once you cop a plea you just got got by the city. Now you got a record, you deemed as a criminal which will serve as your death warrant."

And then there is the conservative cult of the individual. When liberals point at the structural oppression in society, it's ballyhooed as an evasion of personal responsibility. But crime, particularly robbery and gang-related homicide, is a form of agency. It's just a reactionary one. It doesn't reflect the leftist goal of

WEB EXCLUSIVE: LEARNING FROM THE PAST, BUILDING FOR THE

"These are movement building times," writes Matthew Birkhold, author of the forthcoming book Growing Our Souls: Visionary Organizing to Create the World Anew. "People are coming to demonstrations, marching and blocking traffic for the first time in their lives. They feel empowered by activity, and this feeling is creating momentum. As long as this momentum grows, the movement will grow. As the movement grows, spokespeople and new leadership will develop. Disagreements will emerge over fundamental questions, issues, strategies and tactics. Younger movement builders need to know that they do not have to navigate these developments alone and older movement builders need to assume responsibility for helping younger activists navigate."

For the rest of this article, see indypendent.org.

making society more equal. It reflects the conservative vision of an isolated self, driven by personal gain.

The Strain Theory in sociology posits that if an individual believes in the goals of society but doesn't have the means to attain

them, crime can be the result. A very clear parallel exists between Horatio Alger's ragsto-riches novel, Ragged Dick, and Jay-Z's rap career - except in Jigga's case he got "his" by selling drugs as a youth and then rapping about it as an adult. A dimension of Black crime exists that is not a threat against capitalism but a celebration of it.

And finally there is our gun culture. We've drooled over guns ever since European settlers expanded westward in North America and massacred the indigenous peoples they found in their way. The gun was and remains a symbol of freedom, so it circulates with little regulation and flows into poor neighborhoods. Some 300 million guns exist in America. It's not a "Black" problem, but the problems Black people face, like poverty, depression and rage, become more dangerous when a gun is used to solve them.

Yet these effects of structural racism and economic inequality get turned around and recycled as a cause. After his NBC interview, Giuliani doubled down and said, "If there were a lot of murders in a community, we put a lot of police officers there. If I had put all my police officers on Park Avenue and none in Harlem, thousands and thousands more blacks would have been killed."

We needed jobs, not cops. We needed affordable housing, not cops. We needed gun laws. We needed drug rehabilitation centers and childcare. We still do.

That police have a license to kill is a social fact. Compare two cases. In November 2012, 47-year-old Michael Dunn, who was not a cop, got into a yelling match over loud music with four Black teens in a car. He pulled out a gun and shot at them, killing 17-year-old Jor-

> dan Davis. He said it seemed Davis was pulling out a gun. But no weapon was found. Dunn was convicted of first-degree murder.

> This December Phoenix police officer Mark Rine shot and killed 34-year-old Rumain Brisbon after mistaking a bottle of pills in his pocket for a gun. He was Black, and no gun was found on him either. Considering how hard it's proven to be to indict a cop, Rine probably won't be held accountable.

The reason is that officers represent the state, which has a monopoly on legitimate violence. And that legitimacy is derived from it being the only supposedly neutral and universal social body that in an electoral democ-



CAN'T TAKE IT ANYMORE: A woman shares her thoughts with New York's Finest

racy represents everyone equally. It comes from the consent of the governed.

Yet in practice the state plays an inherently conservative role. It maintains law and order in an unequal society, so the contradictions roil it from inside. It must suppress the very people who are the source of its legitimacy. And it does this by shielding its own agents from public accountability while demonizing its victims. The formula is the same for the cops who shoot unarmed civilians, the CIA agents who torture detainees and the drone pilots who kill innocent people while targeting terrorists. Up and down the chain of command, an aura of untouchability obscures abuses of power.

The Senate Intelligence Committee's report on the CIA's use of torture exposed instances of detainees being beaten, force-fed though their anuses, chained to walls in stress positions and denied sleep for days. It also revealed that President Bush was told about the "full nature" of the torture in April 2006. Yet he said on camera in October 2007, "This government does not torture people."

You know he won't be indicted. The president embodies the same unaccountable violence as the cop in the street. And today, even as President Obama directs muted calls for calm toward Black people dealing with police violence, he inflicts it on people of color overseas. Obama is the Darren Wilson of the world.

CRIME AND INNOCENCE

"Killer cops must go to jail," yelled Franclot Graham, the father of Ramarley Graham, a Black teen who in 2012 was chased by the NYPD into his grandmother's home without a warrant and shot dead. No gun was found, just a small bag of weed. On Saturday, December 13, tens of thousands of New Yorkers came out for the Millions March against police brutality in Manhattan. "Go to jail," Graham said, referring to the police officer who killed his son. "Go to jail!" The crowd repeated.

The call for justice is building in Black America and beyond. Players for the St. Louis Rams came onto the football field with their hands up in honor of Michael Brown. LeBron James wore a shirt on court that read, "I Can't Breathe." The burgeoning movement, led by young Black activists, is challenging the narrative of crime and innocence in America. It's flipping the script, using the social consensus



SHUT IT DOWN: Protesters march from Foley Square toward the Brooklyn Bridge.

about the preciousness of life to challenge the hypocrisy of the state.

Occupy Wall Street exposed the guilt of elites as they waged class war on the poor. Feminists have targeted colleges and the military, exposing male supremacy and the epidemic of rape hidden from view in these institutions. Fast-food workers are calling out the economic violence they endure as their bosses make astronomical profits. Everywhere people are laying claim to universal values and marshalling them against the institutions that have exploited those values as an alibi for their power.

It begins not with ideas but experience. If you're wondering why this new movement is happening, let me ask you to look at your hands. For a moment, please think of the person you love most in this life. Imagine holding them. Take a slow breath; exhale everything but them from your mind. Maybe you see a lover, a sibling or a parent. Can you almost feel the warmth of their skin?

Keep looking at your hands, holding the person you love. Now imagine them killed. And the murderer walking away. Do you feel helpless? Do you feel sadness weighing in your body?

The heaviness in your palms is what we lift to the sky. Cops who kill unarmed Black men go free, one after the other. It's why we march through the streets yelling, "Hands up, don't shoot." It's why we shout the names of our dead. We show our hands because we're scared of being killed by officers who have been given license to kill Black people and go unpunished.

I'm asking you to take this weight from us. I'm asking you to hold your hands up too.



n the evening of November 20, some 200 immigrants and advocates gathered in SEIU Local 32BI's Chelsea headquarters to watch President Obama announce his much-anticipated executive action on immigration in prime time. The media had been called in, pizza and beverages had been bought and American flags and art supplies had been set out. As Obama spoke, some of the children in the room made signs with messages about immigration. A pair hanging on the wall read, "Gracias, Señor Presidente."

After Obama finished describing his offer to provide temporary relief from deportation for some 4 million of the nation's estimated 11 million undocumented immigrants — so long as they "get right with the law" — he proclaimed, "We were strangers once too." The line prompted scattered applause from the crowd, but the mood was uncertain.

It reflected the ambiguous nature of Obama's reforms. He is extending temporary relief from deportation to undocumented immigrants with U.S. citizen or legal permanent resident children that have been in the United States for at least five years, as well as to an expanded set of childhood arrivals not covered under the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program of 2012. But the gesture excludes more than 6 million undocumented people, and leaves them — along with more than 13 million green card holders and countless future immigrants even more vulnerable to the vagaries of U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE).

"Those who aren't eligible for deferred action will face a harsher enforcement regime," said Alisa Wellek, co-director of the Immigrant Defense Project. "That's what we've seen every time there's been some kind of reform at the national level: the people who are left out of it are then left with a system that's really lacking in due process and human rights."

In New York City, about half of the city's estimated 500,000 undocumented immigrants stand to benefit from deferred action. Obama's move also comes on the heels of multiple immigrant-friendly policy changes in the city: the municipal ID program, funding for legal representation for low-income immigrants in deportation proceedings, and, effective mid-December, a pair of laws that will further limit cooperation with ICE "detainers," or requests for local law enforcement to hold suspected immigration violators.

"New York City has put into place as much as I can think of, in terms of things the city can proactively do, to limit deporta-

tions happening," said Daniel Coates, an organizer with Make the Road New York. "I hope those safeguards hold up. But it remains to be

'IT'S A BAND-AID'

"We're going to keep focusing enforcement resources on actual threats to our security. Felons, not families," Obama declared in his November 20 speech. "Are we a nation that accepts the cruelty of ripping children from their parents'

That night, Khalil A. Cumberbatch watched the speech from his living room in Springfield Gardens, Queens, with his 7-year-old daughter. He had been reunited with his wife and two young children in October after being arrested by ICE and spending five months in immigration detention.

"The Obama action is a band-aid. It doesn't get at the heart of the problem, which is the need for these policies to constantly criminalize and punish a group of people," said Cumberbatch.

Obama's offer of deportation deferral comes with a revised set of guidelines for federal immigration agencies, including ICE. Directives issued by the Department of Homeland Security instruct ICE officials to use discretion and pri-

oritize resources for the removal of immigrants with a previously established range of criminal convictions, newly arrived immigrants and those with prior deportation orders. The contentious Secure Communities program is to be replaced with what is being called the Priority Enforcement Program (PEP), and more resources will be funneled toward enforcement at the U.S.-Mexico border.

"These new enforcement priorities are really not very different from the old enforcement priorities," said Wellek. "For the most part, PEP is probably just a rebranding of the Secure Communities program."

Cumberbatch recalls that in the early morning of May 8, his wife, Chamika, saw what looked like police officers outside the couple's apartment window. The agents, sporting vests marked "police," came to the Cumberbatchs' door, said they were conducting an investigation and asked to be let inside. Once in the apartment, they arrested Cumberbatch, took him away in an



worries he could be deported for a robbery he committed at age 20.

unmarked car and, after processing, transferred him to immigration detention at the Hudson County Correctional Facility

"I was totally sideswiped by the fact that they had total disregard for how long I had been here, everything positive that I had done, the fact that I had a family, I had two young children. They didn't care about any of that," Cumberbatch said.

Cumberbatch has been a legal permanent resident since he immigrated to the United States from Guyana at the age of 4. ICE targeted him because of a felony conviction on his record from an armed robbery he committed when he was 20 years

Since coming out of prison, Cumberbatch, now 33, has completed two degrees, started his own company and worked on a range of prisoner reentry and criminal justice projects. He was able to win his release from immigration detention with help from his family, advocates and community organizers, and

based on what he calls "a moral, not legal argument" that he is a positive force in the community and not a threat. But Cumberbatch falls into the category of first priority for deportation under PEP, which means mandatory detention and placement into deportation proceedings. Apart from the legal precedent of his previous release, there is little to protect him from another visit by ICE agents.

"I feel anxious, because they granted what is called prosecutorial discretion," said Cumberbatch. "Basically it means that they can come back at any time to do the same process all over again."

RAIDS ON THE RISE

Cumberbatch's experience being picked up at home isn't unique. New York City passed detainer laws in 2011 and 2013 limiting law enforcement's cooperation with ICE. The agency saw its access to potential deportees in city jails restricted, and adapted.

"Over the past year we've seen a real uptick in home raids and probation arrests," said Wellek. She and other advocates also describe anecdotal evidence of immigrants being arrested in public spaces such as city courthouses and homeless shelters, and of ICE going after people with yearsor decades-old criminal convictions who have not had subsequent contact with the criminal justice system.

As outlined in the recent National Day Laborer Organizing Network report, "Destructive Delay," similar ICE tactics — including agents coming to people's homes in



WAITING: New York City immigrants gather at SEIU Local 32BJ's headquarters on November 20 to listen to President Obama announce his immigration plan on national television.





BLESSED: President Obama embraces Astrid Silva, a 26-year-old undocumented college student, at a rally in Las Vegas one day after he announced his plan to provide temporary relief from deportation for four million immigrants.

vests marked "police," as they did in Cumber-batch's case — have been observed around the country in the run-up to Obama's immigration enforcement reforms.

That has been particularly noticeable in the more than 250 locales that have passed detainer bills. Now that a new round of such laws was passed in New York City, ICE is being forced to shutter its office at Rikers Island and the New York Police Department and Department of Corrections are prohibited from detaining most people at ICE's request or notifying the agency about someone's release. The city's Department of Probation, notably, has also agreed to amend its policy in accordance with the laws.

Immigrant rights advocates widely expect that ICE will continue to evolve its tactics. "[The detainer legislation] puts a further barrier to ICE's easy access to people who they want to remove," said Donald Anthonyson, an organizer with Families for Freedom, a Manhattan-based organization that fights deportations. But he was less than optimistic about what will come next. "They're going to use a lot of dirty tricks," he predicted.

"They could be making regular visits to the jail [Rikers], and trying to get more access to people as they might be coming out," said Alina Das, co-director of New York University's Immigrant Rights Clinic. "They might be trying to figure out other ways to increase their presence in courts and other offices, even without city agencies notifying them that they have someone who is potentially deportable."

Neither the city's detainer laws nor the Obama administration's revised enforcement guidelines disrupt the data-sharing mechanisms that allow ICE to identify potential targets in the first place. The agency will still have access to fingerprint data that is collected as soon as any arrest happens and to other information sources.

More than that, ICE's budget and the "bed mandate" quota, which compels the agency to have more than 30,000 people in detention on any given night, remain unchanged.

"It's the same detention and deportation machine," said Wellek. "This is just going to be changing the mechanism by which people are going into it."

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Erika Guevara Rosas Americas Director Amnesty International 30 July 2014

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Ad designed and published by the Chelsea Manning Support Network

SIX RESIDENT DEATHS

Some of the residents' family members said the deteriorating conditions and the threat of eviction might have contributed to the death of six elderly residents who died in the building since the owner announced he wanted to shut it down. Mogil's neighbor, Jack Stock, died in the residence in September and Stock's former personal aide said she blames Deitsch for his death.

"It's because when they gave notice to everybody, it was so short. Everybody took it in and everybody started to get ill and sick and die. Jack was one of them," said Salima Hosein, who was Stock's personal aide for 3 years. "I was there for Jack's last breath. It was so sad. I cried, I cried, I cried. I couldn't deal with it for a month."

the property. Apart from the lawsuits filed by the residents, Sugar Hill Capital Partners is now suing Deitsch trying to recoup its \$7.65 million deposit. Deitsch is also the target of six wrongful death suits, one of which was brought by the family of the famed "Kung Fu judge" John Phillips, who died in the residence in 2008.

for not clearing the residents out quickly enough and is

DINNERTIME: Three of the eight remaining residents share a meal. the wrongful death suits, said the residence advertised at some point in the future, when there is an adequate

itself as an assisted living facility for years without ob-

taining a license from the DOH. O'Hara said that he was surprised to learn, after filing the wrongful death suit in 2010, that it was an unlicensed facility.

facility from shuttering its doors. "Our lawsuit doesn't challenge the ability of the operator to close," he said. "So eventually,

plan in place, eventually that process will play out." Joyce Singer said she is not sure what to do if her mother is evicted. She hasn't been able to find a good assisted liv-

FULL OF LIFE: Resident Alice Springer paints in her room

empty; their windows are sprayed over with a

semi-opaque paint that looks like winter frost.

old is the youngest of the eight remaining resi-

dents, said she could see why a developer would

"It happens to be a very pleasant room," she

said of her one-bedroom unit overlooking Pros-

pect Park. "And all they would have to do is

put a stove in it and it's a condominium. And

The lawsuit was recently pushed back until

January, giving the remaining residents at least

a few more months in their homes. However,

Jason Johnson, who is one of the attorneys rep-

resenting the residents, said that because the

lawsuit is only challenging the deterioration of

services and the adequacy of the closing plan, it

is unlikely that they will be able to prevent the

be eager to buy the property.

they'll get millions for it."

Joyce Singer's mother, Alice, who at 90 years

ing facility close to her home. She and her husband work "I just couldn't believe it," O'Hara said. "This is like long hours and Singer said it would be difficult to travel decency — to take action to protect them," Lander said if your mother is sick and you take her to a hospital, you out to the nearest alternative. RESIDENTS' FAMILY MEMBERS SAY **DETERIORATING CONDITIONS AND**

THE THREAT OF EVICTION MIGHT

SIX DEATHS IN THE BUILDING.

PHOTOGRAPHS & TEXT BY ALEX ELLEFSON

hen 92-year-old Annemarie Mogil left her home of more than 30 years, it was important for her to find a second sec for her to find a residence where she could live elated when she signed a lease last year at an assisted living facility that overlooks Brooklyn's Prospect Park.

services, arts and crafts and outings to the local botanical close the facility. garden and Brooklyn Museum.

helped a lot of other people. It's my time now to rest and into it. Shouldn't alarms have gone off that something protocols by failing to help residents relocate relax and have some comfort," Mogil said.

and the seven other remaining residents who have been residents. "It's like no one is minding the shop." fighting in court for the past six months to stay in their homes. Their battle with their landlord, Haysha Deitsch, ough's longtime inhabitants.

The trouble began in March, five months after Mogil moved into the nine-story building. She and its other 121 that he was closing the facility and gave everyone 90 days vided that residents are given at least 30 days notice. to move out. He had bought the building in 2006 for \$40 luxury condos.

the Prospect Park Residence had been operating at a loss since 2009.

"It has always been the intention of the owners and itsch's spokesmen Paul Larrabee. He added that the finan- she added. cial losses stemmed from issues like maintenance, upkeep

of the building and a "fixed-fee structure" that would not outs, who are all support the costs.

However, Deitsch's claim that he was operating the building at a loss caused many of the residents' family members to question why he applied in 2012 for a license block the evicout the rest of her days in peace. Which is why she was to operate the building as an assisted living facility. The family members and local politicians have expressed anger at the Department of Health's (DOH) "rubberstamp-The Prospect Park Residence offered laundry and meal ing" of both the license application and the request to accuses the owner

"I can't believe the Department of Health just gave the health depart-"I feel that at 92, I lived a full life and an active life and him the license and then took it away without checking ment's closing was wrong here? It's mindboggling," said Joyce Singer, That, however, is proving to not be so easy for Mogil whose 90-year-old mother is one of the eight remaining

DUPED BY THE LANDLORD

ELDERLY EVICTIONS

ASSISTED LIVING RESIDENTS REFUSE TO MAKE WAY FOR LUXU

has become a symbol of the clash between Brooklyn's Residents and their family members say that Deitsch presrampaging real estate market and the needs of the bor-sured them in early 2013 to quickly sign an agreement to accept the DOH license. Unlike a standard lease agreement, which requires the owner to go through a costly housing court battle to evict a tenant, the DOH licensing elderly residents were stunned when Deitsch announced agreement allows the operator to close the facility, pro-

"We were told: 'You're mother is going to have to leave million and was now selling it for \$76.5 million to Sugar if you don't sign this," said Singer. "I wish, in hindsight, Hill Capital Partners, which planned to convert it into that we had gotten a lawyer at that point. We had leases. And going along with getting this license from the De-A spokesman for Deitsch told The Indypendent that partment of Health, we were pushed to sign these residency agreements, which we really didn't understand."

"I think that was his plan. To get the department of health license, which he knew he'd get quickly. And I realthe operators to build a thriving concern there," said De- ly think he thought he was going to kick everybody out," I think we're convinced it was just to make everybody

In May, Singer's mother and the handful of other hold-

Deitsch and the DOH in order to tions. The lawsuit, filed in state Supreme Court, of not following

in their 90s, sued

and by shutting off services for residents who still live in the building and are paying rent, which is upwards of \$4,000 a month.

Annemarie Mogil rides the

elevator down to dinner.

Indeed, many of the residents, their families and local politicians wonder why the DOH approved Deitsch's license in the first place. The facility operated for years without a license and a subpoena obtained by The Indypendent shows that the state agency was aware of this as early as 2009.

The DOH refused to comment in response to a request by The Indypendent.

The judge, Wayne Saitta, has ruled in favor of the residents several times by ordering that services and living conditions in the building be restored. After Deitsch announced that he planned to close the facility, the residents say that many of the activity rooms were closed, the staffing was reduced, they were served rotten food and there was no air conditioning or hot water in the summer.

"[The owner] never gave an explanation for anything. miserable," said Singer.

In August, the judge visited the residence and ordered

ALONG FOR THE RIDE: Resident

HALLWAY: Many of the floors are unoccupied and dark.

the operator to resume serving meals in the main dining area instead of the cramped side room across from the bathrooms.

City Councilman Brad Lander, who represents the area where the building is located, lambasted the DOH and the

governor for not properly overseeing the facility.

"We have long known that the owner of Prospect Park Residence is morally bankrupt, and values his own profit over the health and safety of these frail elderly residents. Governor Cuomo and the state Department of Health are required — by law, by court order, and by simple human in a statement.

John O'Hara, the lawyer representing the families in

check her in and she dies. And then you sue the hospital incredible how Deitsch gets away with this."

Deitsch is involved with several legal battles related to and you find out they're not a hospital. I mean, it's just get construction done to my apartment to put in a handi-

INSIDE THE BUILDING

Outside Mogil's apartment, there is no foot traffic in the hallways. On her floor, she only has one other neighbor. Other floors are completely unoccupied, dead quiet and dark. The activity rooms, where the residents used to gather for music, art lessons and other activities are eerily

"Probably, what we would try to do is see if we could cap bathroom," she said. "I think that would not be great. First of all, we're at work all the time and it would not be stimulating for her. She'd be a prisoner in our home."

HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO

HOW LANDLORDS HARASS OLD **PEOPLE**

By Steven Wishnia

Landlords trying to drive out rent-regulated tenants generally use the same harassment methods against the elderly as they do against gets. They are more likely to have been living in the same apartment for decades and thus have lower rent, and they are often poorer, sicker, physically weaker and may not speak English

"We've seen them taken to court more frequently in some cases too," says Brandon Kielbasa, an organizer with the Cooper Square Committee on the Lower East Side. The elderly "are also more fearful, in my experience," says Jenny Laurie, assistant director of Housing Court An-

> Harassment is built into a common real estate business model: Buy a rent-regulated building,

especially in a gentrifying neighborhood; get the tenants out; renovate the units; and then rent them for much more than the previous tenants right to renew their leases automatically, getting them out requires pressure.

apartments are occupied by people 65 or older, according to a 2011 study by New York University's Furman Center. This includes slightly more than one-sixth of the almost 1 million rent-stabilized apartments and almost all of the 38,000 younger residents. But people over 62 present still covered by rent control. In "core Manhat- • Trying to evict tenants on bogus charges, East Side. The firm refused to renew the lease of both more profitable and more vulnerable tar- tan," the area below East 96th and West 110th streets, where more than one-third of rent-stabilized tenants have lived in their apartments for more than 20 years, 22.4 percent of rent-stabilized tenants are elderly.

ting into the city's Senior Citizen Rent Increase Lower East Side, the lack of heat in the building Exemption program, which covers rent increas- over the winter of 2012-13 caused older resies charged to low-income people 62 or older.

Some common harassment tactics are:

 Giving everyone in the building notices that their leases won't be renewed. Though land- tenants from this building, he adds.

lords can't legally do that to rent-regulated tenants, this can scare people who don't were paying. As rent-regulated tenants have the • Offering to pay them to move, sometimes hir- had work done in her apartment that required ing "tenant relocation specialists" to couple her furniture to be moved. But after doing the buyout offers with threats of eviction.

More than 200,000 of the city's rent-regulated • In buildings that are still predominantly oc- it back and left the tenant with her bed blocking make repairs or provide heat and hot water. In bor came home and helped her move it."

their primary residence.

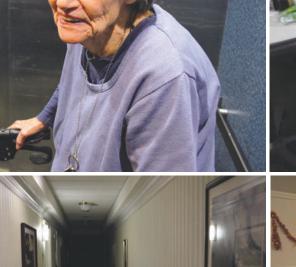
These tactics are used on all tenants, but can dents to repeatedly go to their doctors for more arthritis medication, says Kielbasa. Samy Mah- The Metropolitan Council on Housing runs a "tenant relocator" Michele Pimienta to displace

Earlier this year at 309 East 8th St. — a building owned by Steven Croman, one of the city's most aggressive landlords — an elderly tenant work, Kielbasa says, "the crew failed to move cupied by rent-stabilized tenants, failing to access to her bathroom for hours until a neigh-

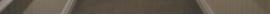
buildings with vacant apartments, not both- In August, the state Tenant Protection Unit ering to limit the noise, mess and damage to launched a probe into "abusive behavior" by other apartments caused by renovation work. Marolda Properties in Chinatown and the Lower such as not paying rent even if they have a woman in her mid-80s on the grounds that she paid, or claiming that their apartment is not didn't really live in her apartment, even though she'd dwelled there for more than 40 years.

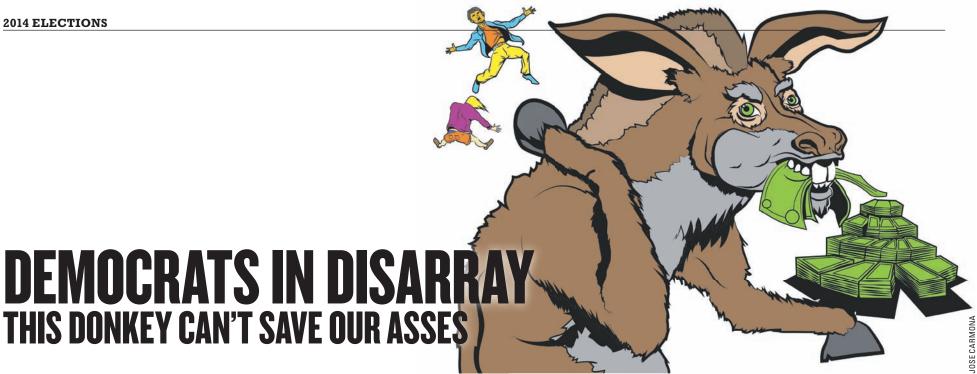
The positive side, says Kielbasa, is that elderly tenants are frequently involved in organiz-One tactic used specifically against older affect the elderly more acutely. It's harder to go ing tenant associations in their buildings and people, says Kielbasa, is "playing games with to court to defend yourself against a bogus law- are often the best-informed and most inspiring issuing their leases on time" to delay them get- suit if you use a walker. At 143 Ludlow St. on the members. "In many cases, they have fought off displacement for decades," he adds, "and have gained invaluable knowledge by doing so."

> far, the landlord, hired the recently investigated tenant advice hotline 1:30-8pm Mondays and Wednesdays and 1:30-5pm Fridays. Call 212-979-2011









By Stanley Aronowitz

Tor the past 40 years the Democratic Party estabdishment has relentlessly pursued "centrist" politics that allow them to follow the Republicans ever further to the right. To the frustration of the party's voting base, this has meant backing corporate-friendly economic policies, offering hawkish support for the Pentagon and its wars, a half-hearted defense of the environment and an aversion to embracing controversial social issues like gay marriage and marijuana legalization until they become impossible to ignore.

When Barack Obama successfully campaigned for the White House in 2008, he raised the hopes of millions of his supporters that he would bring sweeping change to Washington. Three weeks after his election and with the economy in free fall, Time Magazine's cover famously depicted Obama as FDR, down to the jaunty smile and the cigarette holder clenched between his teeth. The headline read, "The New New Deal."

There's been no such thing. Obama quickly filled key administration posts with retreads from the Clinton years. And six years later exhaustion with Obama's tepid liberalism found expression in the 2014 midterm elections, which saw the Democrats lose control of the Senate and get trounced across much of the country.

The Republicans are no more popular than before as they continue to play to an aging, white and conservative voting base. However, with the exception of African-Americans, groups that lean Democrat, such as young people, union members, single women and Hispanics, stayed away in droves and voter turnout for a national election plummeted to the lowest level since 1942.

THE BIG WINNER

The big winner in the midterms was radicalism. And radicalism has no ideological flags. The Right can seize mass disaffection with Wall Street and the political system. But the Left lacks the fire to claim that rage and repeats the tired refrain of a New New Deal, backing away from any aggressive radical reform ideas such as a shorter workweek, guaranteed basic income and a single-payer health

The GOP capitalized cleverly on profound workingand middle-class rage, especially against the administration's failure to deal effectively with the economic slump that has, despite official figures to the contrary, rendered about 20 million workers either unemployed or stuck in part-time or contingent jobs. Add the millions who have given up looking for paid work either because there are no jobs or the jobs that do exist are offered for wages and hours that are below poverty levels. Neither mainstream Republicans nor their Tea Party radical wing have any intention of providing solutions that would benefit those most seriously hurt by what may be described as a "managed" depression. But their rhetorical thrust did articulate working-class complaints and mobilized the stillformidable right-wing base.

The Democrats were also hard-pressed to defend the Affordable Care Act, when they bothered to do so at all. The Republicans argued that it was not truly affordable for a large fraction of the population and enlarged the power of the federal government beyond constitutional limits. In general the left-liberals defended the law, which was

modeled on a similar program enacted in 2006 by Mitt Romney when he was governor of Massachusetts. They ignored the fact that Obamacare is an immense giveaway to large insurance companies, permits huge deductibles for many people and mostly forces people into managed care programs. The administration and its supporters have argued that Obamacare is a qualified success. Many people are skeptical of this claim and the Democrats paid

The Obama administration's foreign policy, meanwhile, has evolved into a permanent war program. He has authorized the bombing of seven different Arab and/or Muslim nations. Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan inherited from the Bush administration rage on. Americans were unhappily reminded of this over the summer when the Islamic State overran much of northern and western Iraq while the U.S.-backed government in Baghdad stood by helplessly.

Beholden to their wealthy funders just like the Republicans, the Democrats stood for nothing that could inspire people and the midterm elections became a referendum on the failings of the Obama administration.

LONGING FOR THE NEW DEAL

There is a recurring proposal heard among left-liberals: radicalize the Democratic Party by restoring it to its New Deal glory days. The genius of the New Deal was to have shifted the locus of political power to a federal center that promised, and partially delivered, the elements of security: unemployment benefits, Social Security, low-cost postsecondary education and a state-sponsored workers' right to organize unions. This final right was codified into law following an epic wave of industrial strikes and factory occupations in the mid-1930s.

The past 40 years have brought a reversal of state paternalism. While successive governments strengthened the military and urban police departments in the wake of the 1960s-era urban uprisings among blacks, the social welfare functions of government have been considerably weakened, leading to a widening gap between the very rich and the rest of us. While the Democrats enacted programs that created a relatively large black middle class, their passivity and at times aggressive support of the deindustrialization of America that began in the 1970s has left in its wake massive poverty in black, Latino and industrial Southern white communities. After six years in office, the Obama administration still fervently backs austerity policies that have impoverished growing sections of the population and, perhaps equally important, have weakened, if not entirely rescinded, the American

The recurring dream of restoring the New Deal can be heard in calls for Elizabeth Warren and Bernie Sanders to challenge Hillary Clinton in the 2016 Democratic primaries. This ignores the fact that the Democrats receive billions of dollars in corporate cash every election cycle and that those donors expect a good return on their investment.

LEARNING FROM FERGUSON

In the present situation, our best hope lies in disruptive social movements that operate outside the two-party system. When oppositional movements gain sufficient strength and are able to break into the public consciousness, the conventional wisdom about what is possible can begin to shift and open up the space for changes in policy.

The anti-police brutality protests that began in Ferguson, Missouri, in August provide a strong example. These protests have since spread to more than 100 cities following decisions by grand juries to not indict the police officers who killed Michael Brown and Eric Garner. Protesters have taken over highways and bridges in a number of major cities and disrupted the jingle-jangle of holiday cash registers by holding "die-ins" inside major shopping

These actions have sparked an intense national conversation about police accountability and the role of racism in police practices. To date, the reforms being offered such as requiring police officers to wear video cameras are fairly modest. But if these protests persist and gather more strength, the opportunity to affect more far-reaching changes in police practices could emerge.

Just as Ferguson put the plague of racially biased police killings on the map, in 2011 the Occupy movement, with its battle cry of "We are the 99%!," brought economic inequality to the fore. While Occupy quickly fizzled, it helped prepare the ground for a series of wildcat strikes by fast-food workers demanding \$15 an hour and a union.

These walkouts have energized efforts to raise the minimum wage across the country. This fall ballot initiatives to increase the minimum wage passed in conservative bastions like Alaska, Arkansas, Nebraska and South Dakota. Earlier this year, Seattle approved an ordinance to increase the minimum wage to \$15 per hour over the next several years. Kshama Sawant, an unabashed socialist and former Occupy activist, championed the measure after making it the centerpiece of her 2013 upset victory, which made her the first socialist elected to the Seattle City Council in almost a century.

The movement for marriage equality started from the political margins and won increasing acceptance in the past decade with very little help from the Democrats until it was already obvious which way history was moving. Acceptance for legalized marijuana has followed a similar trajectory, though in the case of pot most Democrats are still reluctant to embrace it out of fear they will be tarred as "soft on crime."

Here in New York, vibrant movements opposing fracking and the growing corporate attacks on our public school system helped spur the Green Party gubernatorial campaign of Howie Hawkins and Brian Jones, which received almost 5 percent of the vote running against incumbent Democrat Andrew Cuomo, the best any independent third party campaign has done statewide in more than 80 years.

Building a third political party that can seriously challenge the major party duopoly is extremely difficult in this country for a number of reasons. Ultimately the spark for successful third party politics as well as a host of other changes we urgently need to see will come from independent left movements or from nowhere at all.

Stanley Aronowitz is a Distinguished Professor of Sociology at the CUNY Graduate Center. He is the author of more than two dozen books, including The Death and Life of American Labor: Toward a New Workers' Movement (Verso, 2014).

NET LOSS

By Alex Ellerson

eason's greetings! It's time to open up those wallets and hand over your credit cards to the hackers who have been raiding some of America's largest banks and retailers.

You may remember that around this time last year, when Americans were out doing their holiday shopping, Target, one of the country's biggest retailers, was the victim of the then-largest retail data heist in history. Hackers broke into the company's servers and siphoned off 40 million credit card numbers.

Since then, reports of massive data breaches have piled up like presents under a Christmas tree. Neiman Marcus, Kmart, Dairy Queen, SuperValu and UPS experienced hacks this year. In September, it was revealed that 56 million credit card numbers were stolen from Home Depot's servers, an operation that was even larger than the one that occurred at Target.

Part of the reason these hacks keep happening is that retailers just don't seem to take cybersecurity seriously. An investigation of the Home Depot and Target breaches found the companies missed several red flags that provided opportunities to prevent or reduce the damage.

Craig Spiezle, executive director of the Online Trust Alliance, told *The Indypendent* that many companies do not have the proper alarms and response plans in place to catch the hackers and then react quickly to halt the attack.

"From a security perspective, you recognize that you need to take steps to prevent a breach from happening. But you also have to have steps in place to catch when it happens and then [know] what to do about it," he said. "In the case of Target, it became like the Titanic. They could go from one data hole to another and then ultimately bring the company down."

In an analysis published in January of 500 data breaches, the Online Trust Alliance found that 89 percent of them could have been prevented.

According to a recent Ponemon Institute report, which was sponsored by the information service company Experian, 27 percent of companies don't have a data breach response plan in place, even though cyberattacks increased by more than 10 percent from 2013 to 2014.

But even if you do everything right, breaches can and will happen. Despite having one of the most sophisticated and expensive security systems on Wall Street, banking goliath JPMorgan Chase announced in September that hackers had penetrated its defenses and extracted the emails, phone numbers and addresses of more than 76 million households and 8 million businesses. However, more recent reports suggest that the hack may have affected other banks and that the full scale of the heist is still unknown.

The incident highlighted the inadequacy of U.S. cybercrime regulations. Currently, there are no federal laws that define what type of information needs to be stolen in order for a company to report a breach. Banks are only required to notify customers if the incident caused them a financial loss. Hence the confusion and difficulty in determining the scale of the JPMorgan hack.

Several bills have been introduced in Congress that would establish data breach notification requirements to protect consumer data, but none of them have garnered much support.

Instead, companies must comply with cybercrime-related laws in 47 different states that set different definitions of what constitutes a data breach and how a company is supposed to respond. Because the Internet has no borders, Spiezle said that it is time-consuming and enormously expensive for companies to hire law firms to navigate the different regulations.

However, in what appears to be a sign that private industry is starting to take cybercrime more seriously, more than 40 trade associations representing retailers and merchants sent a letter to Congress in November demanding federal legislation that would address data breaches.

The letter urged lawmakers to "act to standardize reasonable, timely notification of sensitive data breaches whenever and wherever they occur."

While Spiezle said he agrees that federal data breach legislation



should be a priority and that it would make sense for a federal law to preempt state laws, he worried that the trade associations behind the letter would try to set the bar so high that a company would not have to report a data breach unless it affected 100,000 customers or more. In contrast, a bill co-authored by Democratic Senator Edward J. Markey would require companies to report a breach that affected more than 5,000 customers. California law, meanwhile, requires companies to notify the state attorney general if a breach compromised the personal information of more than 500 Californians.

"The devil's in the details," said Spiezle. "The trade groups want to minimize the ability of anyone coming after them so they don't want to have state rights enforced. So this is where the rub comes in."

"We need to look at what's the right thing and get it done and get past this gridlock and the special interest groups that really want to have it so watered down that it becomes ineffective," he added.

According to another Ponemon Institute study, which was sponsored by IBM, the cost of data breaches in the United States was \$201 per person in 2014. While banks protect customers against fraudulent credit card charges, that doesn't mean the public won't eventually pick up the tab.

"If there is more fraud, costs go up," Jeffrey MacKie-Mason, dean of the School of Information at the University of Michigan, said via email. "Some of that price increase will likely be in annual customer fees or interest rates affecting cardholders; some of it will likely be in higher merchant fees, affecting retailers. Everyone is affected by the higher cost of doing business, regardless of where the law assigns liability."

But the cost of cyberfraud is insignificant compared to what could be on the horizon. The JPMorgan attack demonstrated that hackers could be capable of infiltrating the United States's largest financial institutions, with potentially serious consequences.

"We could see a financial collapse and resulting great depression — or worse — from a sufficiently serious cybercrime. Such crimes might, for example, be perpetrated not just by profit-seeking criminals, but by nation states who want to bring down the economy of other countries," said MacKie-Mason.

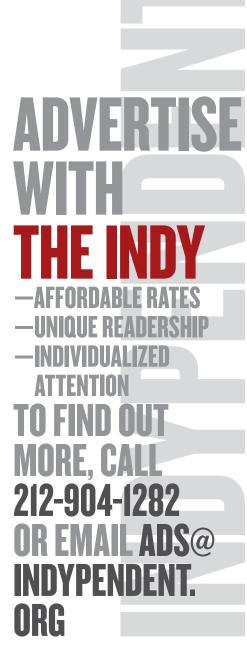
And it's not just the financial system that's at risk. The Government Accountability Office (GAO) has issued several reports indicating that hackers could cause enormous harm to all aspects of the country's critical infrastructure. The GAO has repeatedly recommended that the federal government make cybersecurity a national priority.

Despite these warnings, in 2012 John McCain led a group of Senate Republicans in defeating a bill that would have created new standards to oversee cyberthreats to America's infrastructure. They argued that the law imposed too much of a financial burden for companies to follow.

"In general, if we look at just our Congress we seem to have the inability to do anything," Spiezle said. "It's incredible that we can't get together on this issue." I am an artist. I am redesigning the Indy.

I can design for you.

E







By Laura Carlsen

MEXICO CITY — "One, two, three, four ... forty-three!" Students from the Polytechnical University count methodically as they march down the central avenue of Mexico City's financial district. On "43" they cry "justice!" and break into a run.

Forty-three is the number of students forcibly disappeared on September 26 from the southern Mexican city of Iguala, in the state of Guerrero. It has become the battle cry of a youth-led protest movement frustrated by years of violence, lawlessness and collusion between drug cartels and officials at all levels of government.

The faces of "Los 43" now stare out from banners carried in the marches, from handmade signs held up by protesters, from university walls, from social media posts and from newspaper pages. The fate of the students has gripped Mexico for more than two months and the impact of this incident on Mexican politics and society is likely to be farreaching for years to come.

The students from the Ayotzinapa Rural Teachers' College were last seen being taken away by police. According to the federal government, the students were subsequently handed over to a local drug gang with close ties to Iguala's mayor, José Luis Abarca, and murdered. Why the police abducted the mostly first-year students remains unclear. Though there has been much speculation that Abarca was angered that the students might try to disrupt a speech his wife was scheduled to give that night, survivors say they didn't even know about the event until later.

MEXICO'S NARCO STATE

Killings and "forced disappearances" are commonplace in Mexico. More than 100,000 people have been murdered since the drug war began in 2006 and some 30,000 people disappeared. The launch of the drug war also saw a rise in other crimes, including kidnapping, torture, extortion, rape and other forms of sexual violence.

Amid so much carnage, the September 26 killings in Iguala of six people and the related abduction of the 43 young men shocked Mexico because the direct involvement of the local police in the attacks, if not new, thrust the problem of collusion between government authorities and organized crime into full view. It also struck a nerve because it revealed the vulnerability of youth, frequently the victims of both state and criminal abuse, and the stark

City demand the resignation of Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto for his role in presiding over a narco-state.

divide between the modernizing Mexico President Enrique Peña Nieto has portrayed and the dirt poor Mexico that these mostly indigenous rural college students come from.

Most important though, the protesters believe this was a political crime of the state. The rural teachers college of Ayotzinapa was founded in the aftermath of the Mexican Revolution of 1910-1917. Located on a former hacienda where students work in the fields to grow food for the school, the campus's walls are covered in revolutionary slogans and painted with murals of Che Guevara, Karl Marx and Lucio Cabañas, a school teacher-turned-guerrilla leader who was killed by the Mexican army in 1974.

The school is one of 17 rural teachers colleges still operating in Mexico that give the children of poor, peasant, mostly indigenous families access to an education and a career. It also serves as a place to inculcate the values of social justice and peasant and labor rights.

The students regularly participate in national protests against government policies and engage in highway blockades and other forms of direct action in defense of their school, which the government has repeatedly attempted to defund and shut down. Many Mexicans see the Ayotzinapa school and its students as a living symbol of the revolutionary ideals that Mexico's neoliberal leaders have tried so hard to erase from the national character over the past three decades. For them, the attack on the students was an attack on the opposition to Mexico's current path.

The scenario presented by Mexico's attorney general, Jesús Murillo Karam, denies a political motive, aside from the mayor's supposed tantrum. Murillo Karam posits that the Iguala police, allegedly under orders from the nowjailed Abarca, captured the students and turned them over to local police in the nearby town of Cocula, and they in turn delivered the students into the hands of the ruthless drug cartel Guerreros Unidos, or Warriors United.

Murillo Karam claims, based on confessions from gang members arrested a few weeks after the attack, that the cartel assassinated the students and burned their bodies. On December 6, a team of forensic anthropologists from



JUSTICE NOW: Demonstrators rally at Mexico City's Monument to the Revolution.

Argentina announced that the remains of one of the 43 students — Alexander Mora Venancio — had been identified.

While the drug cartel practice of incinerating their victims' remains is common in Mexico, many parents believe their sons are alive and accuse the authorities of not really looking for their children. The father of one of the 43 weary-eyed, with a newborn asleep on his shoulder — told me that whether the students are dead or not, "The government knows where they are."

The Iguala mayor's wife, María de los Ángeles Pineda, also apprehended, is said to be a member of the family that runs Guerreros Unidos, a splinter group of the Beltran-Leyva cartel, which was decimated by attacks in the Mexico-U.S. drug war. As the government and mainstream $\,$ media have spotlighted the couple, the movement in support of the Ayotzinapa students refuses to accept the "few bad apples" version of events.

U.S.-BACKED DRUG WAR

Since search teams set out into the hills around Iguala to find the students, they have unearthed more than 30 cadavers — and still counting — in clandestine graves. While the international media considered the bodies a bombshell, the fact that the gently rolling hills hid a narco-cemetery surprised no one in Iguala. Many families immediately went down to government offices to sign up for DNA testing to see if the bodies belonged to their disappeared loved ones.

Mexico's bloodbath can be traced back to the U.S.-im-

posed drug war. While the official goal of this highly militarized initiative is take down the major drug cartels and their leaders, it also serves to pull Mexico more firmly into the U.S. security orbit. This strategy has fragmented many cartels but did not eliminate them, setting off bloody turf wars among rival groups.

Deploying Mexico's military against the cartels did more to corrupt the former than eliminate the latter. Police, which have always had relationships with the cartels in major production and transit zones, have also been pulled into disputes between rival gangs. Drug war violence covers up brutal crimes of all kinds, especially against women, and the rule of law has eroded to the point that some 94 percent of reported crimes are not punished in a justice system that works like a sieve.

The United States, which has spent nearly \$3 billion to fund the Mexican government's drug war, insists that institutional efforts to vet police, provide training in procuring justice and increase military and intelligence capacity will eventually defeat the cartels. Mexican government officials say they're fighting the cartels and corrupted officials. They claim Iguala is an example of a lack of state control over organized crime.

"Iguala is not the Mexican state," Murillo Karam affirmed at his November 8 press conference — the same one in which he cut off questions by saying, "I'm tired now," and setting off a Twitter scandal under the hashtag #YaMeCanse, later brought to the United States as "#USTired2." Peña Nieto has produced a 10-point plan reaffirming the war on drugs strategy and has sent the military in to take over local security forces.

These efforts are far from convincing many people that the Mexican government is their protector. On the night of September 26, the Mexican army, as well as state and federal police, were stationed nearby and did nothing as the local police shot at the students and took the 43 away. It begs the question of how the local police thought they could get away with such a crime and

reinforces the belief of protesters and survivors that the government works with organized crime and not against it, and that — whether planned exactly in this way or not — the state wanted to get rid of the Ayotzinapa students.

STUDENT REBELS

"Business as usual" has changed in Mexico and the rise of the cartels and cartel violence is just a part of it. The country has been roiled by a new wave of neoliberal reforms since President Peña

Nieto came into office two years ago. His education reform — which scraps many teacher rights and rolls back liberal arts education in favor of more narrowly focused vocational instruction — sparked widespread protests in which the Ayotzinapa students participated. The recent privatization of the nation's oil and gas resources and other changes in taxes, labor and telecommunications laws have chipped away at the post-revolutionary constitution and laid the final stones in the neoliberal restructuring of Mexico.

In an economic system made for the few, many people fall through the cracks. And some — the rebellious, the brave, the outspoken — are pushed. The government had many reasons to push the students of Ayotzinapa. Not only did they block highways to demand that their school remain open and commandeer commercial buses when they needed transportation, but they also supported the protests of the poor communities that are taking the brunt of the new policies.

"All the injustices committed against our communities, we feel that. So when they carry out actions to demand justice, we participate," notes Carlos Perez Díaz, a second-year student at the Ayotzinapa Rural Teachers' College and a survivor of the attacks. "It seems that's what bothers them the most — that there are students who have left this rural college, who have gone out and raised awareness among the people to organize, to demand their rights. We think this is why they attacked on the 26th, to silence all these voices of social protest in the state of Guerrero, and not just in Guerrero — in the whole country."

Marco Granados, a student at a rural teachers' college in the neighboring state of Michoacán and head of the Federation of Peasant Socialist Students of Mexico, agrees. Julio Cesar Mondragon, one of the Ayotzinapa students in Iguala during the initial attacks on September 26, was found murdered with his face stripped off and his eyes gouged out. Granados sees it as a message.

"This, for people who protest, for us rural college students, is a very strong message. Because it says to us, 'this can happen to any of you,'" Granados said.

BREWING DISCONTENTS

The case of the Ayotzinapa 43 has united powerful undercurrents in Mexican society into a single voice. The discontent with a drug war that had been brewing for years boiled to the surface, along with opposition to the economic reforms. Teachers who protested the education reform are back in the streets; unions fighting roll-backs of labor rights and small farmers who oppose the land expropriation clauses of the oil privatization reform march alongside rebellious youth. The result is a multi-sector movement that demands the safe return of the students — and a complete and total overhaul of the political system.

As the demonstrations continue, protesters have not put forward the long list of demands and grievances that usually characterizes Mexican protest movements. If you ask the students or parents from Ayotzinapa, they insist their only demand is the return of the missing students alive.

For now, that's enough, because that simple demand poses a fundamental challenge to the state. It's also enough because, although the movement may not have a roadmap for where it's going, it has a very clear idea of what it wants to leave behind — the entire corrupt political system of alliances between politicians, big business and organized crime.

All three major political parties — the ruling PRI; the conservative PAN, which started the drug war when it governed the country from 2006 to 2012; and the PRD, the party of both the mayor of Iguala and the governor of the state of Guerrero — are widely distrusted. "PRI+PAN+PRD=Narco-government" is a common slogan on protest banners.

On December 1, a 15-day campaign began to take over mu-

FALLOUT CONTINUES FROM THE POLICE KIDNAPPING OF 43 COLLEGE STUDENTS.

nicipal governments throughout Guerrero and form citizen assemblies. And lately, the movement is coalescing around the demand for Peña Nieto to resign. Two years into his administration, the president's approval levels have hit a low at 39 percent, according to a poll by the Mexican newspaper *Reforma*. Peña Nieto also faces conflict of interest and corruption scandals based on revelations of a multi-million dollar presidential mansion under the name of a construction company favored by government contracts.

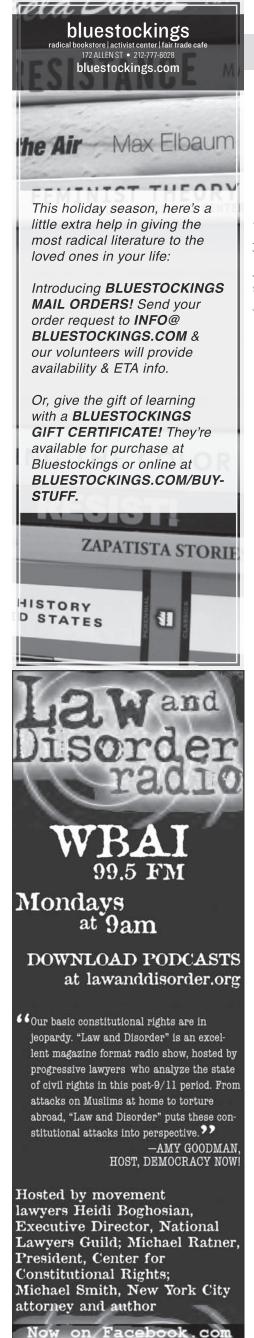
Still, the demand for resignation is a long shot.

One protest banner reads, "When those below move, those above fall." Does that mean this anti-systemic movement can take down a corrupt and entrenched political class? For now, there are no scenarios or predictions and no recent precedent, as Mexico's political system has remained remarkably stable for the past 80 years despite passing through other moments of intense crisis like this one. The movement relies on the national and international momentum it has generated as it seeks to push forward.

Regardless of what happens, even Peña Nieto acknowledged, in a November 27 speech, that "Mexico can't go on like this. After Iguala, Mexico must change." He then presented a list of measures, many of them proposals made by his predecessor and all of them designed to strengthen the drug war and push his neoliberal economic policies forward.

The protesters responded with their characteristic combination of indignation and mockery. They may not have a 10-point plan, but it's clear they aren't going to settle for Peña Nieto's list either.

Laura Carlsen is director of the Mexico City-based Americas Program of the Center for International Policy. For more, see cipamericas.org or follow @cipamericas.





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KATNISS EVERDEEN FEMINIST ACTION HERO

By Rebeca Ibarra

here's a scene in the latest installment of the *Hunger Games* films in which Katniss Everdeen, the movie's reluctant heroine, stands awkwardly stoic, decked out in custom-tailored armor, breastplate and all. "Everyone is either gonna want to kiss you, kill you or be you," declares her escort Effie Trinket, primping her as if for prom.

A friend and I sat at a bar at the end of November discussing how amazing it would have been for a Katniss character to have starred in the action blockbusters of our early teens. I grew up playing princess. When I was about five, my dad used to blast *Swan Lake* on the speakers while I pranced around our living room, tiny arms flapping. I made him play both villain and prince. And as Tchaikovsky's ballet neared the end, I'd run into my father's arms, a wounded little bird, and with an Oscarworthy sigh, I'd die.

Then came Indiana Jones. I was nearing 11 by the time I first watched the trilogy, and Indy had been around for almost two decades. Playacting changed: I no longer twirled but instead dodged giant rolling boulders and jumped over snake pits. I was captivated by Harrison Ford and everything he did. At times I wanted to kiss him, at others kill him, but mostly I wanted to be him. Not the actor but the hero. Had Katniss been around I surely would have played her in my make-believe adventures.

Alas, my heroine came 16 years too late. Jennifer Lawrence is now the only twenty-something allowed to unabashedly pretend she's bow-and-arrow-wielding Katniss. And pretend well she does. Which is why the little girl in me, teeming with excitement as I watched her on screen, forgave the film its flaws: the Hollywood camp, the exhausting exposition, the young men.

Let's talk about the young men, shall we? In the last movie, *Catching Fire*, the former tributes are forced back into the kill-or-be-killed Hunger Games by the leader of the Capitol, President Snow, played by a fittingly off-putting Donald Sutherland. The games are cut short by the rebel forces of District 13, long thought extinct, who take Katniss to make her the face of their revolution. Peeta Mellark, played by Josh Hutcherson, is left behind and taken by the Capitol, where he is tortured into becoming their propagandist. What is left is the shell of a young man who left me wondering whether it was the character or the actor who had given up.

Then there's Gale Hawthorne, played by Liam Hemsworth. He's good at doing an American accent and being handsome. Gale and Peeta are overshadowed by Katniss just as Hutcherson and Hemsworth are upstaged by Lawrence. Part of me was tickled by the sight of two strapping young men helplessly playing supporting roles to a female lead. (At last!) Part of me was bored.

They weren't solely responsible for losing my attention. Much of the action of the first two films is replaced in the third with Katniss walking around looking conflicted, then sad, then empowered, then conflicted again. A lot. While Lawrence has the acting chops to make her inner struggle worth watching, the writing isn't strong enough to make it quite worth staying awake for. Part of this is because there isn't enough meat in the story to stretch what should have been a solid three-hour film into two shorter ones. But the four-part trilogy is profitable. And this is Hollywood, after all.

And, as proven by the late Philip Seymour Hoffman in the role of Plutarch Heavensbee, the public relations mastermind behind the revolution, Hollywood has its advantages. Delightfully understated, Hoffman delivers every line with ease. He is a welcome constant through the film's ups and downs.

Panem is a dystopian society in which the population has given



up freedom for the semblance of security and an ultra-rich minority rules over the starving masses with an iron fist. The most effective way to jolt the populace into action is through advertising, the agitprop of the day. "Propos," as Heavensbee calls the commercials. "A little on the nose," he says of one of them. "But, of course, so is war."

The whole movie is a little on the nose. Which isn't to take away from Suzanne Collins' *Hunger Games* novels. Written for young adults, the series successfully tackles an array of topics, from class inequality to the commercialization of war. The latter is *Mockingjay*'s main focus. Heavensbee hires a film crew to follow Katniss as she tours the districts that have been ravaged by the Capitol. Played by Natalie Dormer, Cressida, the crew's director, doesn't miss a chance to milk despair. Like an experienced war photographer, she goes for the money shot, tact be damned. What results is a grimmer version of the Army Strong ad campaign.

Katniss grapples with being the poster girl for the rebellion. She cringes at the mendaciousness of it all, while we do the same at director Francis Lawrence's lack of subtlety. In some ways, her character is bound to disappoint. Katniss's tunnel-vision love for Peeta leads her to prioritize him over everyone else and the revolution itself, and she falls short of embodying a straight-up feminist or revolutionary heroine.

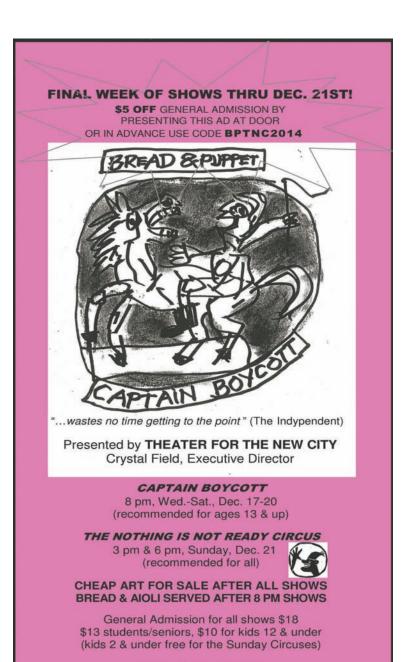
But while at times she's frustratingly on the fence, and annoyingly obsessed with rescuing Peeta, it is her unwavering conviction to those she loves (and her badass archery skills) that make her a character worth rooting for. Even if she isn't willing to kick ass and take names and take credit for every victory as we've been conditioned to believe action heroes should.

Katniss is earnest, never naïve. When the revolution's leaders argue over the perils of recording the propos on the battle-field and the president of District 13, played by Julianne Moore (whose performance is as gray as her hair), warns Katniss that she could be killed, our heroine retorts: "Make sure you get it on camera." Gotta love her.

Mockingjay, Part 1 left me longing for more. Which was, I suppose, its purpose and its flaw. But I expect many a young girl (and boy) to grow up playing Katniss. And the movie theaters are sure to be packed with expectant audiences ready for battle this time next year.







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THE FANON PHENOMENON

OLSSON (2014)

By Kazembe Balagun

Trantz Fanon, the Caribbean psychiatrist-turned-revolutionary, knew a little bit about sampling. As the main theorist of the Algerian liberation movement, he dug into the crates of Marx, Hegel and Freud to recast the darker nations as the center of the revolutionary process. Fanon saw a dialectical interplay between fulfilling the egalitarian ideals of the Enlightenment and the affirmation of Black and brown people. This dedication led him to spend his last years in Africa struggling against colonialism and writing the seminal texts Black Skins, White *Masks* and *The Wretched of the Earth.*

Funnily enough, his echo is reverberating not in Algeria, but in Sweden. While the Swedes never got into the colonial sweepstakes, a number of them documented liberation movements all over the world, thanks in part to a 1960s anti-imperialist government and the availability of 16mm cameras. The result is Göran Hugo Olsson's archivalfootage classic Black Power Mixtape 1966-1975 and his latest release, Concerning Violence.

Concerning Violence — titled after the first chapter of Wretched — covers the socialist-led liberation movements in Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Olsson has given us a gift with the archival footage alone. With the dominant and development-driven vision of NGOs, we can forget that African liberation started with Africans. Not only did they free themselves, but they also broke South African apartheid, brought democracy to Portugal and inspired the Black Power movement in North America. (Take that,

The stirring images of Black freedom fighters are accompanied by Ms. Lauryn Hill reading Concerning Violence. Hill took on the project after serving jail time for tax evasion, and listening to the clarifying anger in her lilt, it sounds like she took Fanon's words to

Whereas Black Power Mixtape was giddy in its anticipation of the first Black president (Obama, not Chris Rock), Concerning Violence comes at time when the audacity of hope has turned into a time of fear. Violence is being perpetrated around the world by multinational corporations exploiting workers and land. Stateside, violence is more than a metaphor; its naked force is being unleashed against Black people in record numbers.

For Fanon, armed struggle was not just a tactic but an assertion of humanity. If you get anything from reading Concerning Violence, it is that "Violence is a cleansing force of the oppressed." But Fanon wasn't a fatalist or a proponent of propaganda of the deed. He was in the deepest sense a man who believed and practiced collective action. So what would Fanon do about Ferguson and Eric Garner? I think he would have been impressed with the use of social media (Fanon wrote extensively on the liberating uses of radio). And he would likely have been hopeful upon seeing the multiracial youth-led demonstrations taking place and the participation of street organizations (his fondness of the "lumpen proletariat" influenced the Black Panthers greatly).

He may, however, have struggled with "Black life matters." Contrary to Black Power activists, Fanon was not interested in racialism; he was a Utopian thinker who sought to undermine the very idea of race as a category. He would also have warned us against the "wily intellectuals" (and activists) who are looking to use this moment for personal gain. Just saying.

Most importantly, Fanon would have shut down the hypocrisy of the state's calls for nonviolence in the face of naked repression. This repression is not just at the demos, but in everyday life. The most striking scenes in Olsson's film are not the gunplay of the guerillas but the colonialism of the veranda: the whites on the golf course and the Black servants in the background, the Liberian worker and his family who are forced out of their home by police for organizing a strike. These scenes remind us that the police are not an isolated entity but represent the interests of the rulers. And wherever the police are, they negate any history or place we may inhabit, whether in Gaza or the deepest part of Brownsville, Olsson aids in the decolonization of our collective imagination, unearthing an oft-negated history and reminding us that resistance is about finding place and standing ground.

Concerning Violence is playing at the IFC Center in December. For more, see ifccenter.com.



NORTH KOREAN AGITPROP

Assenting Voices: Agitprop Art From North Korea JOHN JAY COLLEGE SHIVA GALLERY THROUGH JANUARY 23

By Mike Newton

Talking down Broadway, I saw a bus sporting a giant ad for The Interview, an upcoming comedy film about two Americans' misadventures in North Korea. Seth Rogen and James Franco are shown gazing, stalwart, into the unknown, flanked by red-tipped missiles and an angry Korean guy with a machine gun. The ad is meant as a tongue-in-cheek pastiche of overwrought propaganda art; it reads as a joke, because it's so clearly a fishout-of-water scene. The world in which James Franco and Seth Rogen are movie stars is not compatible with the stonefaced, marching-parade dogma of dictatorial Communism. Inside "Assenting Voices," currently on view in the Shiva Gallery at John Jay College, I saw more of the same: more bright red letters, more guys with machine guns — only here, it was no joke.

"Assenting Voices" includes paintings and illustrated propaganda posters from North Korea and, yes, the posters look pretty much exactly how you'd expect. In 1948, while under Soviet occupation, North Korea became the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), adopting a sort of homegrown Stalinism under its new leader, Kim Il-sung. And that's where it stayed: now widely regarded as the last bastion of Stalinism, the DPRK is currently in its 67th year of Kim family rule.

Just as Western art and design have undergone profound changes since 1945 reflecting a rapidly and tumultuously shifting culture — the static formulism of these posters reveals a society deeply resistant to change. Indeed, even the Soviet Union tried to update its propaganda for the times: Soviet posters from the 1970s and '80s use minimalistic composition, expressive line work, silly cartoons. There's none of that here. Instead, North Korea has stayed true to "socialist realism," the brightly lit, protagonist-driven, polemically motivated style that had been Soviet state policy under Stalin. Viewers may be surprised at how similar a DPRK poster from, say, the early 1950s is to one produced in the late 1980s (the exhibition doesn't include any posters made after that).

Also surprising is how little there is of Kim Il-sung himself. Though North Korea is famous as a place that profoundly mythologizes — even apotheosizes its leaders, the imagery here is mainly focused on common, hard-working citizens. Many of the posters feature individual, ordinary Koreans, heroically foregrounded in the center of the frame, displayed against sweeping, technologically imposing backdrops. One image shows a female factory worker smiling proudly as she stencils "MADE IN D.P.R.K." onto a row of wooden crates; behind her are massive hydraulic lifts and solid shipping vessels already at sea.

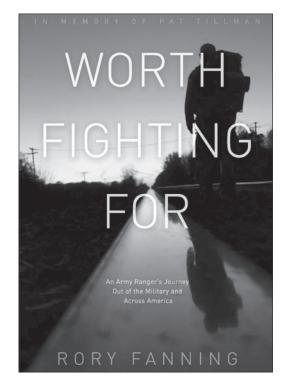
Another shows a young soldier, stoically clutching his assault rifle before a towering factory of giant, belching pipes. Another has a schoolboy diligently studying science, dreaming of airplanes, monorails and beeping radio towers. Almost every image shows at least something — a skyscraper, a tractor, a missile - that couldn't exist without advanced industrial technology.

But this exhibition has more than just propaganda posters; there are recent oil paintings, too, and that's where it gets really tricky. Each painting features lushly rendered human subjects - almost all beautiful young women against slightly out-of-focus backgrounds. These works also seem to valorize the daily efforts of dedicated citizens, but their stark compositions and muted colors betray a sort of foreboding melancholy, a sadness that's nowhere to be found in the zippy, propulsive posters. One painting - Performance II (2011) — shows a woman singing into a microphone, while behind her looms the massive gray-brick Monument to the Foundation of the Worker's Party. The scene is dark and lonely: the woman seems to be plaintively singing into the middle of the night, with no one around.

Another work — Ballet (2011) shows a dancer hunched on a stool in the corner, with most of the canvas given over to a sun-dappled white wall. The piece becomes almost an abstract painting, reminiscent of J.M.W. Turner's apocalyptic late works. Due to the complexities of showing North Korean art outside of North Korea, the paintings are presented here without much provenance: we don't know exactly who made them, or why. But, assuming that these are state-sanctioned works, they seem to be using the concept of romantic beauty — as embodied by women, autumnal landscapes and musical performance similarly to how the posters utilize ideas of labor and technology: as a continual reaffirmation of the state's (supposed) vast resources and power.

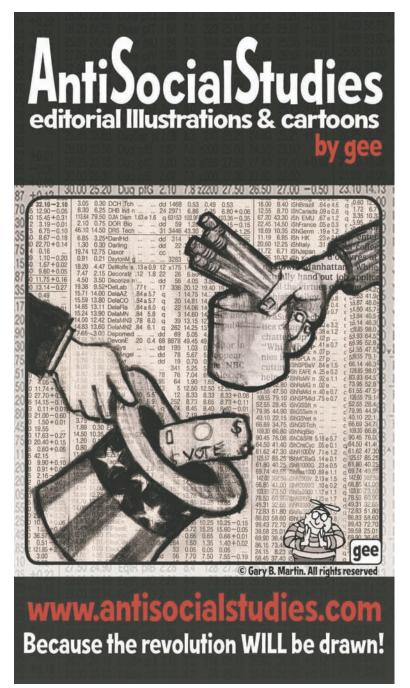
Here in New York City, all this stuff reads as occasionally beautiful, but generally silly, self-parodying kitsch. We like to laugh at the bluntness of this straightforward propaganda. But we have propaganda here, too; it's perhaps more subtle, but it's there. With image-memes entreating us to honor "the troops" regardless of the war and sunny political campaign commercials in which every candidate is a true man or woman of the people, we're surrounded by media that tugs at our emotions in honor of the state. All media contains messages, after all, and in the right hands, anything — up to and including monorails, microphones and ballet dancers — can become propaganda. You can choose whether or not to laugh.

An Army Ranger's Journey Out of the Military and Across America



"You set out on foot to find things that can be found no other way: your country, yourself, your sense of direction. . . . Rory Fanning, a young soldier back from the wars, shares the results of his odyssey with those of us who have not walked 3000 miles through wild places and rough weather. His encounters with Americans who might be described as ordinary but are often extraordinary and with himself and the places and their historical backstories make great reading." —Rebecca Solnit, author of Wanderlust: A History of Walking





WE'RE GOING TO THE NEXT LEVEL. WILL YOU JOIN US?

The Indypendent was founded in 2000 as an all-volunteer project. We believe passionately in the value of independent media and have done amazing work on a shoestring budget. As we enter our 15th year, we're ready to evolve and grow as an organization.

OUR PLAN FOR 2015:

*Extend salaries to all the core members of our team.

*Pay talented left freelance writers and artists for their work.

*Bring you even better reporting and analysis of the news you care about.

*Continue mentoring aspiring grassroots journalists through our volunteer program.

\$40,000

But first we need to raise \$40,000. It's double our normal fundraising goal and a crucial step in ensuring that our plans for Indy 2.0 succeed. This annual yearend fund drive will be a big part of that. But we aren't stopping there. Supporters will be hosting house parties for us this winter and spring and we will be celebrating our 15th anniversary in a big way next fall.

Whether you can give \$25, \$50, \$100, \$250 or \$1,000 today, it all makes a huge difference.

Thank You For Your Support, The Indypendent staff and volunteers

With a gift of \$75 or more, you'll receive a choice of beautiful T-shirts from the We Will Not Be Silent project, similar to those modeled by Indy staffers Rebeca Ibarra and Nicholas Powers above. With a gift of \$150 or more, you'll receive both T-shirts.



WANT TO KNOW MORE ABOUT OUR PLANS FOR 2015? SEE P2.

TO MAKE A CONTRIBUTION, YOU CAN WRITE A CHECK OR MONEY ORDER TO "THE INDYPENDENT" AND SEND IT TO 388 ATLANTIC AVE., 2ND FL./BROOKLYN, NY 11217. IF YOU ARE GIFT-ING \$100 OR MORE AND WOULD LIKE TO RECEIVE A TAX DEDUCTION, MAKE YOUR CHECK OUT TO OUR FISCAL SPONSOR, THE INSTITUTE FOR MEDIA ANALYSIS, AND PUT "INDYPENDENT" IN THE MEMO LINE.

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